The Franco Scandal—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

November 4, 1950

ELECTION EVE

New York: No Holds Barred

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Bungling in California

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Not Like 1946

BY WILLARD SHELTON

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Why Asia Doesn't Trust Us

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

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says HOPE

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HOPE:
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Give the finest gift of all... U.S. Savings Bonds

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Franco Scandal

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST January, when Mr. Acheson changed his mind —and this nation's policy—on Franco Spain, he stated the reasons in a letter to Senator Connally which hit a level of disingenuous sophistry never reached before or since by our distinguished Secretary of State. To reread this letter today in the context of the debate on Spain in the United Nations is a painful experience. It appears in the State Department's volume "Strengthening the Voices of Freedom" immediately following Mr. Acheson's press-conference statement of the previous May which carefully explained why our government would not vote for a change in the General Assembly resolution of 1946 banning Franco from the United Nations and recommending that member states withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid. The contrast is startling. In his statement to the press Mr. Acheson pointed out that the 1946 resolution was important not for what it accomplished—it really made no practical difference, he said, whether we had an ambassador or a chargé d'affaires in Madrid—but for what it symbolized. To the Western European governments, he said, the resolution had become a symbol of their disapproval of a regime which had been put in power by Hitler and Mussolini and was by all possible tests a fascist dictatorship, absolute in power and contemptuous of human rights. A vote to rescind the resolution might also be taken as a symbol—"a symbol of the fact that after all we don't care much about these rights."

Two pages farther along, in his letter to Senator Connally, we find Mr. Acheson abandoning this whole thesis, though he does not pretend that anything has changed in Spain. He argues instead that the 1946 resolution "not only failed in its intended purpose but has served to strengthen the position of the present regime." And while he still recognizes the reluctance of the Western European nations to accept Franco as a partner, he insists that a restoration of ambassadors to Madrid has no "moral significance": it is no longer a symbol of anything, merely a sensible return to "orderly international intercourse." We were now prepared, he told Senator Connally, to vote for changes in the 1946 resolution which would permit the return of ambassadors and the admission of Franco Spain to the specialized agencies of the U. N.

Last Friday, through a procedural maneuver, the resolution to revoke the ban against Franco was suddenly brought out on the floor of the Political Committee. Although submitted by seven Latin American countries and the Philippines, the proposal obviously stems from the letter to Connally. The words are, more or less, those of the eight sponsoring nations, but the voice is the voice of Acheson. Nor have the American delegation and the State Department been backward in urging their views on the nations that move, when asked, in our orbit. The pressure has been heavy and obvious, and the line-up as the week began indicates that it has also been effective. It was only through the protests of a few delegations that the effort to railroad the resolution through last Friday was blocked and the debate carried over into this week.

Let it be put plainly: in spite of previous indications that it would at least remain in the background, the United States is the driving force in this year's move to rescind the ban against Franco. The thing is immoral and shameful, and certainly no less so if it represents political kotowing to the Catholic church and reaction in general rather than conviction or national necessity. But apart from its moral implications it betrays a more startling ineptitude in public relations.

Mr. Acheson's proposal to strengthen the General Assembly and thus circumvent the Soviet veto in the Security Council won the support of all but five members of the U. N. This support represented in large part the hope of a more democratic direction of U. N. affairs —a chance for the voice of the smaller nations to be heard. Since then the United States has several times flouted that hope and provided substantiation for Russia's charges of "automatic majority." This past week our delegation cracked the whip twice, once on the issue of Trygve Lie's reelection, once to assure a two-thirds' majority for the Franco resolution. In the first instance it had the excuse that Russia's veto of Mr. Lie's name was a direct attack on the U. N. position in Korea; but even granting this just grievance, the extreme pressure applied by the United States was resented by many delegates. In the case of Spain no such excuse existed. It remained for Dr. Fabrigat of Uruguay to oppose the eight-power resolution in an address that put with eloquent force the democratic position on Spain. Coming from an American nation with a record of stable republicanism, his words were profoundly impressive and made our behavior seem even shabbier by contrast.

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The Shape of Things

WE CAN WELL APPRECIATE MR. ACHESON'S skepticism about the proposals for a German peace treaty outlined in the recent Prague communiqué of the foreign ministers of the Soviet bloc. Yet insincere and specious as they may have been, these proposals were shrewdly calculated to appeal to the German people, and by his entirely negative response the Secretary of State abandons to the Kremlin the initiative in what may prove to be a propaganda campaign of vital importance. The Prague document can be divided into two sections. A long preamble accuses the United States, Britain, and France of violating the Potsdam agreement and, in particular, of plotting to recreate Germany's army and war industries, to maintain an occupation of indefinite duration, and to block unification of the country. Part two sets forth a four-point alternative plan: (1) a four-power pledge to carry out the Potsdam agreement and to prohibit the remilitarization of Germany; (2) the removal of all impediments to the development of "a peaceful German economy"; (3) the "undelayed conclusion of a peace treaty" followed by the withdrawal of all occupation forces; (4) "the creation of an all-German constitutional council on the basis of balanced representation of East and West Germany," to prepare for the establishment of an all-German government.

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WHILE THE BROAD OBJECTIVES OF THESE proposals correspond to the policy of the Western allies, their imprecise phraseology invites many questions. Does the call for removal of restrictions on a peaceful German economy mean that Russia is prepared to forgo further reparations from current German production and to cease using East German factories for the manufacture of military material? Is the militarized police force of the East German Republic to be disbanded? What is meant by "balanced representation" of the east and west zones? Delegations of equal size or in proportion to population—18,000,000 in the east, 47,000,000 in the west? Is Russia prepared to allow the representatives of East Germany to be chosen by a really free vote, or will it insist on the validity of the recent Hitler-type elections? In his statement of October 25 Mr. Acheson asked some of these questions but did not wait for an answer. More might have been accomplished, it seems to us, if the State Department had sent a note to Moscow expressing interest in the Prague scheme but insisting on its clarification as a preliminary to further discussion. By rejecting the plan without investigation we leave the Soviets in a position to capitalize on its appeal to two strong German sentiments—desire for unification and antipathy to rearmament.

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CHARLES M. LAFOLLETTE, FORMER DIRECTOR of Americans for Democratic Action, was the most surprising appointee to the Subversive Activities Control Board. His task will be to attempt to enforce the registration section of the McCarran law. Lafollette opposed the bill when it was before Congress, and his acceptance of a post on the board can be interpreted only as a recognition that the statute, however repugnant, must be administered with as much discretion as possible. The law thus far has caused the arrest of some allegedly subversive aliens against whom no specific criminal act could be proved; else they would have been jailed previously. It has also effectively hamstrung the routine traffic of foreign visitors to the United States. Now Lafollette, Chairman Seth Richardson, and other members of the board have begun the solemn farce of receiving the Attorney General's demand that the Communist Party be ordered to register and of scheduling public hearings to determine whether the party is actually required to do so. When the expected decision is made, there will follow the long round of court tests, and in the end the Communist Party may simply dissolve and reorganize under a new name, requiring the Attorney General and the Subversive Activities Control Board to start all over again.

November 7

IN AN election that involves 435 seats in the House of Representatives, 36 seats in the Senate, 33 governorships, and hundreds of lesser offices, it is obviously neither wise nor feasible to attempt a comprehensive list of recommendations. Neither do we think one can generalize very readily about the implications of so variegated a polling, especially in an off-year when there is no unifying Presidential choice to offset regional issues, local complexities, and personality differences. Nevertheless, next Tuesday's results will be studied by the analysts, and by the politicians themselves, with the greatest care for their immediate impact in Washington and for the light they undoubtedly will throw on the trend of current popular thought.

Without feeling any special loyalty to that shapeless organism called the Democratic Party, we believe for several reasons that the country will be well served by its retaining control over both houses of Congress. First, because a divided and paralyzed government is a grave menace in these days of international crisis; we would feel the same way if the Republicans were in power. Second, this same division makes it impossible to hold either party responsible for failures, foreign or domestic, and therefore to vote with clarity or conviction in the succeeding election. And, finally, we are under no illusion that election of a Republican Congress would be taken as anything but a public mandate to arrest the course of social legislation and to play fast and loose with civil liberty in the name of national security.

On particular issues it should be possible to get at least an indication of popular feeling by selecting appropriate contests for observation. Iowa's Senatorial race, for example, allowing for the normally Republican complexion of the state, should be an index of farm opinion on the Brannan plan, with former Under Secretary of Agriculture Loveland upholding it and Senator Hickenlooper, the Republican incumbent, all-out against it. In Wisconsin, Representative Andrew Biemiller, Democrat, stands out for his defense of the proposed federal health program. Chat Paterson, engaged in a difficult effort to replace Ohio Representative Frances P. Bolton (R.), is similarly identified. Robert A. Taft has become, of course, the very symbol of the retrogressive labor act that bears his name. And one need be no more enthusiastic about Senator Lucas than we are to recognize that his fight with Everett M. Dirksen (R.) in Illinois represents a showdown in the Middle West between the forces for international collaboration and the resurgent isolationists.

The odds favor Senator Wiley to be returned from Wisconsin, where Democrats stand only a fighting chance in an off-year battle; but the narrower his victory, if any, over the liberal Thomas E. Fairchild, the sharper the rebuke to Joe McCarthy, who, disgracefully enough, has been the Republicans' prize campaign exhibit in that state. Indeed, something of a referendum on McCarthyism may be had by watching the vote in a number of key races. Note particularly the fate of Senators McMahon, of Connecticut, and Tydings, of Maryland, both of whom had the honor of giving McCarthy the most drastic treatment possible in the Senate short of expulsion. Watch also New York's vote for Senator Lehman on this score, although the intricate pattern of the campaign in that state makes any simple reading impossible. Lehman is the only Senator up for reelection this year who stood out against the dangerous McCarran measure.

Besides the preferences we have already indicated, we would not want to see Senator Francis J. Myers, a thoroughly reliable liberal, replaced by the unpredictable Governor Duff. Still less would we want to see an excellent and constructive Senator like Utah's Elbert Thomas supplanted by Wallace Bennett, last year's president of the National Association of Manufacturers; or Connecticut's dynamic William Benton succeeded by Prescott Bush, a stodgy Republican banker. On the other hand, it would be a pleasure and a relief to see such tory standbys as Senators Millikin, Donnell, Dworshak, and Capehart give way, respectively, to John Carroll, now one of the finest liberals in the House, Thomas C. Hennings, Claude J. Burtenshaw, and Alex Campbell, former Assistant Attorney General.

Among the other new aspirants to Senate seats, our

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blessings go to Helen Gahagan Douglas, who will need them in her desperate race with Richard Nixon, of the Committee on Un-American Activities; and to Representative A. S. Mike Monroney, a capable liberal, if not a simon-pure New Dealer, running against a clerical clown who rides elephants, stunts in the pulpit, and proclaims the identity of sin, socialism, and the Fair Deal. While we do not presume to pass on the many governorship contests, we shall clearly enjoy waking up on November 8 to find Richardson Dilworth slated to go to Harrisburg, Chester Bowles to remain in Hartford, and G. Mennen Williams to stay on at Lansing, not to mention the improbability of James Roosevelt winning in California.

We have not tried here to list the many Congressmen, or aspirants to Congress, who by their records and their pledges are entitled to the support of liberal voters. Our readers will know who they are in their respective districts. Organizations like the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee, Labor's League for Political Education (A. F. of L.), and Americans for Democratic Action have seen to that. Campaign confusions, deliberately sown, are with us as always, but never has the average citizen had access to as much information with which to cut through that confusion. The democratic system requires of him only the willingness to use that material and to act accordingly at the polls.

Behind the Lie Fight

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, October 26

IN MAKING the reelection of Trygve Lie almost as big an issue as the war in Korea, the American delegation not only lost all sense of proportion but forced the U. N. to lose the opportunity of appointing an excellent new Secretary General—Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico. Of all the candidates whose names were mentioned, Padilla Nervo was Mr. Lie's most formidable opponent. It was against him that American pressure was most strongly exerted, and it is around him that the inside story of this significant episode revolves.

Señor Padilla Nervo was not an emergency candidate. He is one of the U. N.'s ablest leaders, as intelligent as he is earnest, and without the least self-importance. It was not strange, therefore, that when the question of a successor to Mr. Lie began to be discussed, many delegates thought at once of the distinguished head of the Mexican delegation. If I remember rightly, he was first talked of two years ago as a possible new Secretary General; in fact, the idea seems to have been broached by Trygve Lie himself. When a commissioner for Libya was to be appointed, Mr. Lie urged Padilla Nervo to accept the post. The Mexican rejected the offer, but in the course of the negotiations Mr. Lie is reported to have said, as an added inducement, "After two years your prestige will be greatly increased, and you will be the most likely person to succeed me."

Then, as later, until the time for the election actually drew near, Mr. Lie talked only of resigning. When Russia's opposition to him first became known, the name of Padilla Nervo headed a list of possible alternatives. The Mexican delegate never pressed his candidacy, as others were doing, but behaved with characteristic dignity and restraint. In the exchange of views among members of the Security Council and Assembly his name was suggested by one of the Arab group. Immediately the whole Latin American bloc rallied to his support. It is being said that the Latin Americans were divided, but that was not the case; they were unanimous in insisting that he should run. For his part he maintained that in the present world situation it was essential for the Secretary General, whoever he was, to have the support of the Big Five.

When the United States delegation saw that the Latin Americans were determined to back Padilla Nervo, it began to exert pressure on the two Latin American members of the Security Council—Ecuador and Cuba. Quevedo of Ecuador, however, said that if Padilla Nervo's name was presented he would vote for him, in accordance with the wishes of his government. Since Cuba could hardly stand out against all the other Latin American countries—even Colombia supported the Mexican delegate—its vote seemed assured when the Security Council met on Tuesday. India, although two of its delegates were regarded as possible successors to Mr. Lie, was also prepared to vote for Padilla Nervo. Egypt was openly for him. Dr. Tsiang of China, who would have used the veto to prevent the election of an Indian, informed the Latin Americans that he would support their candidate. France and England, had they felt free to do so, would also have voted for him. Russia's position had been publicly proclaimed by Vishinsky and Malik.

I have been told by an absolutely trustworthy source that when Trygve Lie realized the Mexican's election was all but certain, he asked Padilla Nervo to write to Vishinsky and Malik that he was withdrawing from the race. Padilla Nervo replied with mild irony that since he had not himself presented his name he could hardly take the initiative in disavowing his candidacy. Lie was insistent: "Then tell the press," he said.

The Russians, aside from genuinely favoring Padilla Nervo for the post, could not but enjoy seeing the United States in conflict with the rest of the Western Hemisphere. From Buenos Aires to Mexico City resentment would have been intense if Senator Austin had used the veto, as he announced he would, to defeat the Mexican

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candidate. Privately France and England tried to convince the United States that it was a mistake to make the reelection of Trygve Lie a sine qua non. They disputed the American argument that Mr. Lie's defeat would challenge the position of the United Nations on Korea: the stream was all but crossed, and one could change horses without serious risk or embarrassment. But the effort to modify the American attitude was in vain. Senator Austin's threat to use the veto for the first time shocked many delegates.

Padilla Nervo would have had the vote of every member of the Security Council except the United States. Lacking that, however, he was unwilling to serve as an added element of disunity among the Big Five; consequently he begged his friends and supporters to forget about him.

That is the inside story of the maneuver to keep Trygve Lie in office. The result cannot help being bad. Quite apart from what one may think about Mr. Lie's position on Korea or his merits as an executive, a Secretary General elected under such circumstances is handicapped from the start, and the United Nations is weakened in the same measure. The very success of the pressure campaign will reduce his capacity to promote peace and better understanding. However independent he may be in the future, the Secretary General will be irrevocably labeled Made in America.

Not Like 1946

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 26

IN THIS year's political campaigns, as has often happened before, national issues have been obscured by the raucous claims of the candidates. The President's projected series of whistle-stop tours might have raised the level of debate, but the war in Korea halted plans for his campaigning. In advance of the November elections I shall make only a few general observations.

I see no signs of a repetition of the Democratic débâcle of 1946, which gave the Republicans control of both houses of Congress. At the moment the Republican shoguns are not claiming gains of such magnitude. In 1946 some people were angry and many more were disheartened. The "meat shortage" was an issue, and Senator Taft assured the public that if price controls were abolished prices would go down. Mr. Truman, still a newcomer in the White House, gave the impression of rattling around in his predecessor's shoes, of falling into blunder after blunder. With millions of unhappy citizens staying home on Election Day, the Republicans won their victory on the basis of a small total vote.

The situation today is quite different. The President's triumph in the 1948 election strengthened his self-confidence; he has learned to use the tools of his office, and his policies have become clear-cut and firm. Individual Democratic candidates are shrinking from the Administration's health-insurance program and the Brannan farm plan, but Mr. Truman's own appeals to the electorate are consistent. As for price controls, most people would probably welcome drastic economic measures to protect their incomes against rising living costs during a period of remobilization.

There are no indications that the Republicans' general campaign slogans have struck fire. A few months ago Chairman Gabrielson of the Republican National Committee was trumpeting about "liberty versus socialism," but he has not emphasized this alternative in recent speeches. Senator Brewster's attempt to damn the Administration by an alliterative accusation of "confusion, corruption, communism" is not being echoed by many Republican candidates. It is hard to prove that Mr. Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, who sent American troops into battle in Korea, are "soft" toward the Soviet Union or toward communism.

Many reporters who have been touring the country write of the apparent apathy of the voters. Visitors to Oklahoma, for example, find the people talking more about the state university's football team than about the Senatorial race between A. S. Mike Monroney and the Reverend Bill Alexander, who claims he was instructed by God to run as a Republican. Even in Ohio, where Taft is putting up a terrific fight, the voters seem curiously lackadaisical. This does not necessarily mean that in 1950, as in 1946, there will be a small vote; it may merely show that people have too much sense to pay attention to the politicians' irrelevances, and that they have already made up their minds, or will make them up in the privacy of the election booths.

Some of the experts and statisticians who use various methods to "project" the size of the national vote have observed that New York City's registration this year was smaller than in 1948. Having calculated that the national vote over the past ten years has ranged from 12.7 to 14.9 times the New York City registration, they draw the conclusion that between 38,000,000 and 41,000,000 people will go to the polls on November 7. But there are other bench marks to consider. In the six states of California, Washington, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts—a fair cross-section of the country—the complete registration figures indicate a record-breaking turnout for an off-year election. The registration in these states is more than two and a half million above the 1946 figure and more than half a million above that for the Presidential election in 1948. This might mean a total vote of 45,000,000.

Mr. Truman is making indirect appeals to the people to support his Administration and give him a Congress controlled by his own party. Following hard on

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his trip to meet General MacArthur on Wake Island and his speech to the United Nations General Assembly, his recent announcement that he plans to call Congress back into session immediately after the election gave him a chance to dramatize the national issues. Just as he underscored his attack on the Eightieth Congress in 1948 by calling a special session in advance of the Presidential election, he can now emphasize the importance of electing legislators who will support his requests for rent control, an excess-profits tax, improvements in the mobilization and defense measures already adopted, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii—and, above all, who will uphold his foreign policy.

This year, certainly, the political power of organized labor will be tested. Labor is not a bloc to be delivered; the political ideas of top leaders, such as John L. Lewis, are not necessarily shared by the rank and file. But for the first time in many years every major labor group—the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the railroad brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, the International Association of Machinists—is working to mobilize the tremendous potential vote of union members against reactionary Congressional candidates. The targets of labor's campaign, like Taft, are fighting back by pointing to the alleged threat of a labor "dictatorship," but the freely expressed preferences of millions of working people hardly constitute a dictatorship. Mr. Taft apparently sees no potential dictatorship in the high-powered mobilization of physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and others who practice the "healing arts" to fight what they call "socialized medicine" by opposing Democratic candidates.

Independent liberals can complain that labor leaders sometimes indorse candidates for very limited reasons: the five operating rail brotherhoods, for example, have indorsed Senator McCarran presumably because he voted against the Taft-Hartley act, ignoring his position on Franco Spain, the displaced-persons law, and anti-Communist legislation. In most states, however, union indorsements this year have been based on the candidates' expressed views concerning the major issues of foreign and domestic policy, and that is a healthy sign of political maturity.

Why Asia Doesn't Trust Us

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

New Delhi, October 16

A DISPATCH from New York saying that an editorial in the *Times* of October 12 had expressed "shock" at the views of India's delegates to the Lucknow conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations was featured on the front pages of Indian newspapers and in turn shocked the Indian public. It is felt here that the statements which alarmed the New York *Times* had been frequently made before in official addresses as well as in the press and that they accurately reflect the trend of thought in India concerning the United States, Russia, and the United Nations.

Before analyzing this trend, it is important to point out that all the delegates to the conference were private citizens who did not claim to speak for their governments and were not expected to. They attended the conference to exchange ideas with as much frankness as possible, not to indulge in diplomatic amenities. In fact, the criticism was heard that the delegates were unduly cautious —"mealy-mouthed" as one of them put it—about broaching such urgent issues as Kashmir and Korea. The delegations of India and the United States, like those of other countries, represented a broad cross-section of opinion, ranging from conservative business men to what Americans would call radical intellectuals, but no Communist Party members were among them.

Because of the strong desire of the American group to ascertain the policy of India on political and economic questions and the equally strong interest of the Indians in the role the United States intends to play in Asia, the two groups engaged in many direct interchanges, and the representatives of other countries, including Britain, played a relatively peripheral role. The Americans were outspoken in pressing for a more precise definition of India's position on world affairs, especially with respect to its decision not to become a member of the United Nations Commission on Korea. It should be noted that American delegates of liberal persuasion who at home had been critical of United States foreign policy were particularly insistent that the Indians clarify their attitude, going so far that some members of India's delegation complained that the Americans were "ganging up" on them.

The mutual cross-examination—which required both Indians and Americans to review their own preconceptions about the most critical issues of our time—never became acrimonious. It had the salutary effect of defining, far more clearly than had proved possible before, the areas of agreement and disagreement between the United

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VERA MICHELES DEAN went to India as a delegate to the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow. She is the author of "Europe and the United States" and other books.

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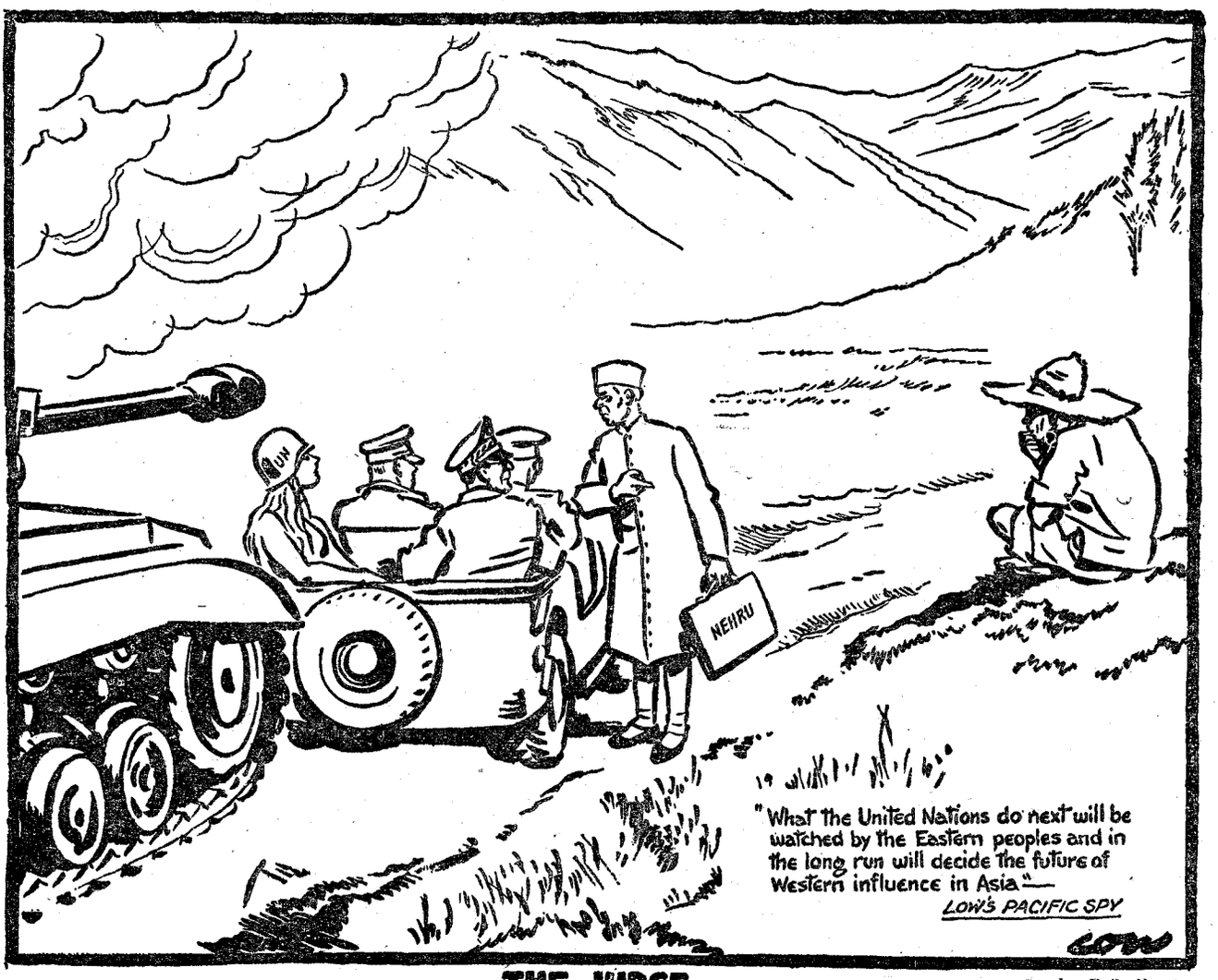
States and India. And since Asian delegates agreed that in world affairs Nehru is ahead of the Indian public, and that India is ahead of the rest of Asia, the discussion also pointed up the major obstacles to good relations between the United States and other Asian nations newly liberated from colonial rule, and suggested possible adjustments.

IN THE views expressed by the Indians three main preoccupations could be detected. First, and perhaps immediately most important, India feels that after only three years of independence, during which it has undergone the seismic upheaval of partition, the nation has not enough physical strength or stability to risk becoming deeply involved in international controversies; if armed clashes resulted, its recovery and economic development would be too seriously jeopardized. In harmony with the prevailing view here that moral force is more effective than the use of arms—the view voiced so effectively by Mahatma Gandhi—India considers that it can make the best contribution to world peace by remaining uncommitted to either the United States or the Soviet Union and thus free to use its influence in case of emergency. When chided by Americans for its attempt to remain neutral—now that we have discovered international cooperation thirty years after the creation of the League of Nations we are filled with the zeal of converts—India replies that it is not neutral as between aggression and U. N. resistance to aggression but reserves the right to be neutral between power blocs outside the U. N.

This answer immediately raises the question of where India stands on Russia and communism. The Indians feel they have made their position clear. They have no predilection for Russia as a national state, although they regard American fears about Russian imperialism as greatly exaggerated. In fact, after listening to Indians of many shades of opinion, I have concluded that the nation India admires most and is most anxious to imitate is Britain. The Indians, however, see no reason why criticism of Russia should involve rejection of the ideas and practices of communism, which may, in fact, offer some useful lessons for their country, whose present stage of economic underdevelopment is in many respects comparable to that of Russia in the 1920's. It is significant that during the entire discussion of Russia and communism in the conference, the Pakistan delegates, in spite of their country's differences with India and the well-known repugnance of Islam for communism,


UN
NEHRU
"What the United Nations do next will be watched by the Eastern peoples and in the long run will decide the future of Western influence in Asia"—
LOW'S PACIFIC SPY
LOW

THE JUDGE

London *Daily Herald*

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were in striking agreement with their Indian colleagues. Closely connected with this attitude is the genuine admiration felt by both Indians and Pakistanis—as well as by spokesmen of other Asian countries—for the achievements of the Chinese Communists. To thoughtful Asians, disturbed by the corruption and incompetence of the governments formed since independence, the reforms carried out by the Peking regime, and particularly the reported "incorruptibility" of its members, seem immensely desirable. They cannot understand the reasons for Washington's reluctance to recognize Peking. Americans who think that this represents merely a Communist or "leftist" view will perhaps be undeceived when I add that one of the first questions I was asked after speaking before a Rotary Club—it was posed by a textile manufacturer—was: "Why does the United States try to stop communism in countries which want it?"

The third preoccupation of the Indian delegates—and in the long run the most significant for Americans—was the possibility that the United States is offering financial and technical aid to Asian peoples out of a desire to enlist them on its side against Russia and communism. If that is the case, say the Indians, then it would be better for Asia not to accept American aid—which in any case is wholly inadequate and incommensurate with the amounts furnished to Europe. Indians cannot give any pledge that they will participate in a struggle against Russia, or even that they will not take Russia's side, since they do not intend to disrupt their relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China or to renounce any benefits offered by the example of communism in the economic field.

If it really is a shock for Americans to learn that Indians and many others hold these views, then the shock may have a therapeutic value. For it is highly doubtful that either propaganda or war will cause the Asian peoples to change their opinion; if we hope to see such a change we shall have to revise our own policy. In recent months it has been considered almost treasonable at home to express thoughts on China which are taken for granted here. What would be really treasonable would be to mislead the American public as to the current trend of opinion in India and the reasons for this trend.

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

VII. New York: No Holds Barred

BY ROBERT BENDINER

FOR downright unpredictability no horse race that ever drew the attention of New York's renowned gambling industry could match this state's current political steeplechase. Not that every effort hasn't been made to fix it in advance; on the contrary, both sides have tried, only to cancel out each other's endeavor. First, Ed Flynn, one of the shrewdest of Democratic bosses, induced Mayor O'Dwyer to resign, knowing that a mayoralty election in New York City would bring out the big vote so vital to the chances of the Democratic ticket as a whole. Whereupon the Republicans, now needing a proved vote-getter, responded in kind by "drafting" Governor Dewey for renomination after they had already given the green light to Lieutenant Governor Joe R. Hanley, a genial and popular old wheelhorse who was at last to come into his reward.

In itself neither act was likely to shock the sensibilities of anyone over the age of sixteen, but the sordid details of how they were committed reduce this campaign to an alarmingly low level of political morality. The O'Dwyer coup was made easy by the burgeoning of the Police Department scandals that were soon to rock the city. Promised the ambassadorship to Mexico, His Honor must have viewed the diplomatic life as an extremely inviting haven against the gathering storm. But Hanley was a tougher customer. He had to be broken over the wheel, and as the country now knows, Dewey was the man to do the job. On the face of it, the Senatorial nomination was the price of his making way for Dewey. Actually the aging politician, in failing health, heavily in debt, and wholly unfitted for service either in the Executive Mansion or the Senate, was driven into his present position by a combination of threat and purchase. If he persisted in running for Governor, party angels—notably Winthrop Aldrich, of the Chase National Bank—would stop the flow of campaign funds. If he accepted the Senatorial nomination he was assured, in the words of his now famous letter to W. Kingsland Macy, "of being able to clean up [his] financial obligations within ninety days." In the event he should lose, he wrote to the man who had already put up half the money for his gubernatorial campaign, "I will be given a job with the state which I would like and enjoy."

To these well-known episodes must now be added another charge, made, though not proved, by Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio. Running independently as the

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"unbossed" white knight of the mayoralty campaign, Acting Mayor Impellitteri had boasted of how he had spurned a Democratic offer of a Supreme Court judgeship if he would withdraw and leave the way clear to an easy victory for the party's official nominee, Judge Ferdinand Pecora. DeSapio now insists, with rather convincing detail, that Impellitteri's stubborn virtue is merely the consequence of his having placed too high a price on capitulation. What he wanted, the Tammany leader says, was judgeships for himself and three of his backers. Failing in this, he is said to have demanded assurance that the nomination would not go to another Italian American, who presumably might then supplant him as leader of a big nationality bloc.

NOTHING except the *Daily News* straw poll indicates that Impellitteri will win in his own right, but the outcome of the contests for Governor and Senator will be powerfully affected by the size of this obscure man's vote. Professional politicians know that many voters who pull down the lever over a name that stands alone on a line of the voting machine do not bother to shop around for names on the other party lines. The baring of Hanley's dreadful incapacity has greatly enhanced the chances of Lehman's reelection, but the fate of Walter A. Lynch, the Democratic nominee for Governor, ironically rests to a significant degree with Impellitteri.

My own judgment, for what it may be worth, is that the Impellitteri vote will be large—large enough to jolt the leaders of the Democratic, Republican, and American Labor parties—and that a sufficient number of his ballots will be "bullet votes," that is, for Impellitteri alone, to reduce dangerously the Democratic margin in the city. Not even Lehman's victory is certain.

Obviously the prospect of a big Impellitteri vote has little to do with the candidate himself. A few months ago few New Yorkers knew his name. He had become president of the Council by virtue of unvarying loyalty to the machine, and in spite of the Mayor's frequent absences, he managed to fill in with an inconspicuousness that amounted to talent. After four years on the Council he made his maiden address only this past spring, and at no time did he raise his voice against the corruption that saturated the O'Dwyer administration. His only organized backing comes from a dissident Tammany faction hopeful of returning to power if the DeSapio ticket is beaten. Yet here he is, running for Mayor against all the apparatus of the established parties and with a good chance of capturing well over 400,000 votes—solely because New Yorkers, repelled by the shabby deals that have marked this campaign and long since fed up with the pro-Communist antics of the American Labor Party, want to protest and don't know how else to do it.

Logically, of course, it is Impellitteri who should be carrying the cross of O'Dwyer's maladministration. But since he has broken with the present Tammany leaders and Judge Pecora has not, it is the Judge who suffers the handicap. Backed by the Liberal Party as well as the Democratic organization, Pecora would ordinarily be certain of election. By plain arithmetic he must still be rated the favorite, but the certainty is gone. With the shrunken American Labor Party probably still good for 200,000 and an incalculable percentage of the independent vote likely to go to Impellitteri and to Edward Corsi, the Republican candidate, Pecora has need of all the appeal he can muster. In spite of a personal record for integrity, that appeal is something less than overwhelming.

Arvin Katz

Acting Mayor Impellitteri

It should be said for Pecora that the Liberal Party, surely no friend of Tammany, had him on its list of potential nominees in 1945 and again in 1949, that the Democratic organization itself in those years would have no part of a coalition under his banner, and that his nomination this year was the price paid by Tammany for Liberal support at a time when it needed desperately to cleanse itself before the public. There is good reason to believe, moreover, that Lehman would not have made the race except on both tickets and that Pecora's nomination was the condition laid down by the Liberals. In answer to charges that the Judge has kept a line not only to the Hall but to Frank Costello, Pecora's supporters can point to three of his judicial decisions which could have given little comfort to that sinister figure, who mixes in local Democratic politics when he can spare the time from his extensive gambling operations. One of these involved Costello's attempt to recover some $27,000 which he had left in a taxicab, only to have Pecora rule in favor of leaving it with the property clerk of the Police Department. Another directed Costello, over his protest, to yield to a subpoena to testify concerning the ownership of a New York night club then under investigation. The third decision, handed down only two years ago, allowed the police to dump a million dollars' worth of pin-ball machines into the East River.

Conceding the personal honesty of Mr. Corsi, the Liberals argue further that "clean government"—assuming the Republican candidate would be strong enough to

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assure it in view of his own unyielding loyalty to the Republican political machine—is not enough. He was hand-picked by Dewey, they point out, and in spite of his own enlightened views there is nothing in his record to indicate that he would ever seriously defy his backers. The Democrats in general, and Pecora in particular, reflect in any case the social outlook and pro-labor attitude that has characterized the national administrations of Roosevelt and Truman.

Yet for all this in Pecora's favor, it may he hard to convince an increasingly cynical electorate that a sixty-nine-year-old judge who has not uttered a word in criticism of O'Dwyer or of Tammany is the man to step in and clean the Augean stables. Long a close friend of the late Generoso Pope, he has the most fulsome support of *Il Progresso*, now published by Generoso Pope, Jr. It is no secret in New York that the elder Pope, at any rate, was always close to Costello. Both Corsi and Pecora, it may be noted in passing, publicly supported Mussolini at one time or another—an unfortunate weakness from which practically no New York politicians of Italian descent have been free.

IF I have seemed to dwell disproportionately on the mayoralty race, it is because of its crucial bearing on the campaign for the governorship. As for the Senate, it is hard to see how the abject Hanley, who is now trading on his poverty, can hope to overtake a man with Lehman's high and deserved prestige. The letter to Macy and its subsequent "leak" to the Democrats, by way of photostated copies, has ripped away all pretense of Republican unity and displayed perhaps the fiercest intra-party war now raging except the Duff - Grundy feud in Pennsylvania. Reduced to groveling back into Dewey's good graces, Hanley can expect no support from the ultra-conservative Macy-Gannett wing of the party, which had hoped to use him to get rid of Dewey. Unless the Democrats, particularly Mr. Lynch, work up sympathy for Hanley by their wild talk of impeaching Dewey and starting criminal proceedings against Hanley and the Governor, it is believed that thousands of Republicans, upstate as well as in the city, will simply stay away from the polls.

Governor Dewey

Enough of this abstention is counted on to finish Hanley, but, even with the bloom rubbed off, Dewey will be hard to beat. A strong Democratic opponent would have an excellent chance to put an end to the Governor's political career, but few observers see Lynch in that role. The Congressman started out with two handicaps—for all his fourteen years in Congress he was comparatively unknown, and his nomination was handed down from the small coterie of bosses who ran the convention. Lynch has been a good if inconspicuous Congressman, with an unimpeachably liberal voting record and a reputation for constructive service on the important House Committee on Ways and Means. No one, including Lynch himself probably, has any idea of his administrative capacities, and until a few days ago he conducted his campaign as a "crusade for righteousness," with no talk of what he would do if elected. Worried party leaders appear to have convinced him, however, that righteousness is not enough, and he is now engaged in laying down a Lynch program for Albany. It is a Fair Deal program, resting on a base of "stable farm prices, good wages, and fair profits." He would repeal the Condon-Wadlin act, which prohibits strikes by state and municipal employees, broaden the social-security program, continue to press for low-cost and middle-income public housing, and in general, he says, administer the state "in the best traditions of former Governors Alfred E. Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Herbert H. Lehman." In supporting his running-mate, Lehman speaks of Lynch with what appears to be genuine enthusiasm and admiration.

Before the Hanley episode few professional politicians conceded Lynch a chance of heading off Tom Dewey. He clearly has that chance now, but the odds are still against him. If Dewey comes down to the city with even a 500,000-vote margin (he had an upstate plurality of more than 600,000 when he lost to Lehman in 1938), he can be beaten only if the Impellitteri voters solidly back the rest of the Democratic ticket. An exhortation to that end has yet to come from the Acting Mayor to his supporters. This does not mean that Dewey remains unhurt by his cruel treatment of Hanley, who is now a broken man, or by his cold political amorality. Where many Americans have come to accept, as part of the game of politics, the maneuvering of men and offices in order to strengthen a party ticket, they are likely to be jolted at the spectacle of an old man figuratively trussed up like a turkey, stuffed into a gunnysack, and deposited on the floor of the United States Senate. Among the imponderables in this imponderable election is the number of Republicans who will go fishing on November 7, either out of resentment over this "processing" of Mr. Hanley or because they belong to the Macy-Gannett faction, which lives only for the day when the G. O. P. can wave farewell to Tom Dewey.

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VIII. Bungling in California

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, October 25

FROM first to last the California political campaign has been a monumental irrelevance. No significant issues have been raised. Though a record vote will probably be cast, few elections in this state have aroused less rank-and-file enthusiasm.

The Democratic ticket is weak where it should be strong, in the center of the line, where the nominee for Governor stands. Edmund "Pat" Brown, district attorney of San Francisco, is a strong candidate for the attorney-generalship and should win, Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas is a strong candidate for the senatorship, has conducted a first-rate campaign, and under more favorable circumstances would surely defeat Representative Richard Nixon. But she has been confronted, since the primary, with an extremely difficult situation.

The trouble is that James Roosevelt's campaign against Governor Warren has come apart at the seams. Warren's total vote in the primary was almost 700,000 greater than Roosevelt's. In addition, Warren, with an eye on the Presidency, has been "pouring it on," in the hope of rolling up a huge vote in November. With his usual skill—here is one politician who never campaigns too soon—the Governor has planned a smashing finale. His opponent's campaign has been as oddly incompetent as the Governor's has been well planned and cleverly conducted. Nearly everything Roosevelt has done or said has somehow confirmed the public's initial impression that he was a lightweight in the ring with a heavyweight champion. His blows have been tossed about in a frivolous and opportunistic fashion. Not once has he managed to break down Warren's guard and land a real punch.

No one seems to know just who is responsible for the Roosevelt campaign—it is apparently the handiwork of Russell Birdwell, a Hollywood public-relations counselor. Bringing Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to California merely emphasized the candidate's ineffectiveness. The spectacle of Mother rushing out West to defend Son against the Big Boy was by local standards a bit ludicrous. Herbert L. Phillips, political editor of the McClatchy newspapers, summed up a week's activities quite accurately in these words: "Roosevelt's record for the week. Running attack—slowed up noticeably by rugged Warren line; kicking—frequent but inaccurate; fumbles recovered—none; passes attempted—eight; passes incomplete—eight; total ground gained from political scrimmage—not enough to net him even a single first down."

Concerned about the all-important Senatorial campaign, the Administration has sent a parade of important speakers to California, including Maurice Tobin, Vice-President Barkley, and Attorney General McGrath, with Oscar Chapman, Charles Brannan, W. Averell Harriman, and Representative Wright Patman en route. All of them so far have been cautious if not downright cagey about supporting Roosevelt. "I'm not in California to attack the Republicans," said Vice-President Barkley. "I have great respect for the Governor of this state. I am not attacking Governor Warren." It is doubtful whether this oblique strategy has helped Mrs. Douglas, for it has confirmed the weakness of the center. Had she been able to induce Harold Ickes to visit California and devote his splendid powers of denunciation to a subject worthy of them—namely, the brazen demagoguery of Richard Nixon—the effect would have been greater than that produced by this parade of big names. Ickes, I understand, has not wanted to come to California because he is not enthusiastic about James Roosevelt.

Despite Mrs. Douglas's fine efforts to conduct an intelligent campaign, the issue which has shaped up as the decisive one in the Senatorial struggle is: Do California voters approve of the voting record of Vito Marcantonio? To outsiders this question may seem unrelated to California politics, but it is the only one Nixon has raised. His every speech and statement have pounded home the argument that Mrs. Douglas has lined up on the same side as Marcantonio more often than has Nixon. His own voting record is a distinct liability in a basically liberal state; on most issues Congressman Nixon has been several paces to the right of Senator Knowland. Mrs. Douglas has tried to combat this trickery by a consistently sensible and dignified rebuttal but has not yet managed to launch the counter-attack which might break the hypnotic rhythm of the Nixon theme song: "Helen Douglas is a red."

A dapper little man with an astonishing capacity for petty malice, Nixon might best be described as a distinctly third-rate Tom Dewey. In this campaign he enjoys the support of virtually every newspaper in the state, including the San Francisco *News*—which was a bit of a surprise. He has unlimited funds, and in recent weeks has had the help of those talented publicists of the N. A. M. who masterminded the campaigns against Frank Graham and Claude Pepper.

In the primary Nixon's total vote was about 170,000

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more than Mrs. Douglas's, but Mrs. Douglas had a fairly strong Democratic rival in Manchester Boddy, publisher of the Los Angeles *Daily News*. Mrs. Douglas will be lucky if she gets half of the Boddy vote in November.

Governor Warren

The *Daily News* is Democratic but with strong Republican leanings. It supported Governor Warren in the pre-primary period and has never withdrawn its indorsement. Some weeks ago the *Daily News* finally came out for Mrs. Douglas but in a curiously left-handed way. It sagely told its readers that it did not consider Richard Nixon a fascist and that it was by no means thoroughly convinced that Mrs. Douglas was a Communist. On the basis of this remarkable statement, its readers were at liberty to infer that they could, if they wished, vote for Mrs. Douglas with reasonable assurance that she would not commit treason. The calculated coolness of the indorsement was widely, and properly, interpreted by conservative Democrats who had supported Boddy in the primary as a tip to remain neutral or else vote for Nixon.

The absence of a party press or any real party discipline in California has created a climate which is wonderfully favorable for political renegades. Since the middle 1930's a set of political has-beens in the Democratic Party have made a political living by coming out, in late October, with noisy indorsements of Republican candidates. Their action, of course, is always played up in the Republican press. Actually these professional renegades are not "deserters" but Republican agents; it has been so many years since they have supported a Democratic nominee that their failure to indorse the Republican ticket would be real news. During the current campaign there have been more than the usual number of these melodramatically reported "desertions."

Judged even by Democratic standards, this has been a fantastically inept campaign. Scores of individuals who have played an active part in every election for the last two decades have been completely by-passed. Major contributors to Democratic funds in former years have not even been approached. Recently Attorney General McGrath attracted no more than 150 people to a mass-meeting held in the usually liberal 57th Assembly District. Inquiry revealed that the chairman of the district Democratic Club was deliberately ignored in the arrangements for the meeting. I have lived for years in the 13th Congressional District, which in times past has been as well organized, from the Democratic point of view, as any district in Los Angeles. This year there have been no meetings, no block parties, no fund-raising.

Nominally labor is for Roosevelt and Douglas, but organized labor in California today has become an indorsing rather than a campaigning political force. In primary elections labor support is of value, but in a general election it is not particularly influential. As a mattter of fact, Governor Warren has been able to organize a committee of A. F. of L. leaders which has worked more actively for him than all the rest of organized labor, both branches, has for Roosevelt. In Los Angeles the C. I. O. may be supporting the candidates it has indorsed, but if it is, then new and secret methods are being used, for on the surface one would never know the C. I. O. existed. Labor in California is effectively organized "against communism," but that is about the extent of its systematic political activity.

Governor Warren seems certain, therefore, to be re-elected by a handsome margin; the odds are five to one in his favor. The Nixon-Douglas fight will be close, but Mrs. Douglas should win. Brown, too, will probably be successful. There should not be much of a change in the Congressional delegation. In the 12th District, formerly represented by Nixon, a young Democrat, Steve Zetterberg, has conducted a fine campaign and stands a chance of being elected. He is one of the few Democratic candidates who have had the wit to realize that Democrats cannot compete with Republicans as red-baiters. The attitude of most Democrats in this matter is illustrated by the statement of a Los Angeles judge whose wife is active in the Roosevelt campaign. This official announced that to be on the safe side he was taking three loyalty oaths — state, city, and county.

James Roosevelt

Registration this year was the largest it has ever been. Approximately 5,250,000 voters were enrolled, an increase over the June primary total of 319, 468. Most of the new voters have registered in the Democratic Party, which maintains an impressive lead—3,062,205 Democrats to 1,944,512 Republicans. The anticipated heavy vote should favor Democratic candidates, but only a major shift in public sentiment can save James Roosevelt.

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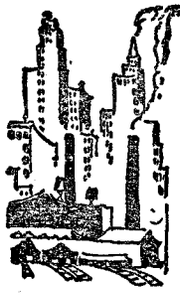

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Mr. Hoover's Shotgun

IN A radio address delivered on October 19 former President Herbert Hoover accused European members of the North Atlantic Treaty organization of shirking their part in rebuilding Western defenses, leaving the United States to carry a greater burden than it could bear. Apart from Britain —and some of those who harp on the same theme include Britain in their indictment—Western European nations, he suggested, have not "the will to fight, or even the will to preparedness." Although they have more population and a greater productive capacity than before World War II, they do not appear ready, he said, to provide for mutual defense anything like the forces that they then placed in the field.

Mr. Hoover's conclusion was that the time had come when "we should . . . ask all nations who want to stop Russian aggression once and for all to join and to specify what they will join with and when." Failing signs of effective mobilization in response to this request, we should consider the advisability of withdrawal from Europe and of "holding the Atlantic Ocean with Britain (if they wish) as one frontier, and the Pacific, with an armed Japan and other islands, as the other frontier."

Since Mr. Hoover is by no means alone in advocating such shotgun tactics, it seems desirable to examine some of the economic facts he has cited and the conclusions drawn from them. Let us look, for instance, at his statements about the growth since 1939 of European population and production, which are true enough but misleading when set down baldly without interpretation. Thus it is unsafe to equate ability to raise large armies with increased population when, owing to war losses among those of working age, the proportion of unproductive persons—children and old people—has increased. Moreover, the most rapid growth in population has taken place in countries with low productivity, such as Italy, where a surplus of man-power contrasts with labor shortages in Northwestern Europe. Does Mr. Hoover, one wonders, think it possible to draft a million or so unemployed Italians into the armies and factories of France and Belgium?

We must also take into account the fact that the rise in European production has not been accompanied by a corresponding rise in consumption. In Britain personal consumption absorbed only 69 per cent of net national income in 1949 as against 79 per cent in 1938. Spending by individuals has been deliberately restricted, partly to make possible greater government outlays, including very large sums devoted to defense, and partly to permit the restoration of war-time capital losses and provision for that new investment without which productive capacity must stagnate.

That is to say, the British people—and this is equally true of the French people as a whole—have never really loosened their belts since the war ended. They have been sacrificing butter for reconstructed and new industrial plant, and now, faced with new demands for greatly expanded arms expenditure, they wonder whether they must give up their margarine as well. Prospective American costs for rearmament, while much greater than those of Western Europe in terms of dollars, do not seem likely to call for comparable sacrifices. While Europe came out of the war with heavily depreciated productive equipment, the United States emerged with a greater industrial capacity than ever. In the five years since V-J Day, we have been able to enlarge that capacity enormously and at the same time enjoy greater consumption than ever before. Now certainly we have to pull in our own belts a notch or two. The diversion of 5 to 10 per cent of our industrial capacity from civilian to military purposes, the drafting of 4 to 5 per cent of our man-power for the armed services will undoubtedly mean that rather fewer houses, cars, television sets, refrigerators, and other consumer goods will be available. But unless we get into a fighting war, it seems unlikely that we shall be compelled to eat less food or to curtail seriously our purchases of clothes. In Europe, on the other hand, the margin of what may be called surplus consumption is a narrow one, and as rearmament develops, standards of living which are already very low in comparison with the standard of this country may well sink lower still.

If under these circumstances some of our European friends are hesitant to commit themselves to arms programs on the scale advocated by Washington, we should be more sympathetic than shocked. Nor can we ignore possible political reactions should the people of countries which have suffered deprivation for more than a decade find themselves faced with the prospect of a further indefinite period of austerity. As Vera Micheles Dean asks in a new Foreign Policy Association report, "May not the European nations, in the very process of diverting their relatively limited resources of man-power and materials to armaments, so reduce living standards as to foster popular discontent which, in turn, would favor the outbreak of civil strife and thus serve what are assumed to be the aims of the Kremlin?"

The pertinence of this question, overlooked in Mr. Hoover's ultimatum, has been grasped by the United States Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, which has recently undertaken a study of the consequences of "the unavoidable necessity of a large-scale defensive arms program which comes on top of an economic reconstruction program." Seeking facts instead of jumping to conclusions, the committee to which this study has been assigned has just sent a questionnaire to several thousand business men, government officials, and farm and labor leaders in this country and abroad.

I have space only to cite Question 2 in this document, one which seems to me of key importance. "Can production and productivity be increased sufficiently in Europe to meet mutual defense requirements and maintain existing standards of living or, at least, minimize their decline?" Very briefly, my own answer is: yes, provided always the United States realizes that Europe's military strength, like our own, depends in the last analysis on the development of its industrial potential and on the morale of its workers, and shapes financial aid not as a club but as a lever.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Hiss Affair

A GENERATION ON TRIAL. U. S. A. v. ALGER HISS. By Alistair Cooke. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THERE can be nothing but praise for the skill with which Alistair Cooke has told the story of the Hiss trials. He has sifted the mass of records, highlighted the crucial dialogues, expertly mingled description, local color, and legal technicalities, and maintained objectivity with no sacrifice of warmth and wit. To say that the result is as enthralling as a novel would be bathos: it is, on the level of pure narrative, more fascinating than any contemporary novel could ever hope to be.

Only after I had finished it—having been unable, as the phrase goes, to put it down—did I begin to feel uneasy. I was in Europe during the second trial; every audience, in whatever country, when they came to the questions, pounced upon Hiss. In Europe, it was driven home to me, the concept of a political trial—of a courtroom that is not a court of law but an arena of ideological conflict, some impeachment or some Dreyfus case—is all too familiar. Europeans easily assumed that this was not a matter of evidence, of examination and criminal law, but a social struggle thinly disguised as court procedure. They held it an evidence of American naivete to pretend anything else.

However, what does impress the reader of this book is that despite the passion and the fantastic personalities—especially despite, in the first trial, Mr. Stryker—despite, as Cooke puts it, "the gallivantings of a drunken press" outside the building, inside the walls was enacted on the whole the due and dignified process of the law. A judgment was rendered on the basis long since recognized as adequate—the testimony of one witness (Chambers) and corroborating facts and circumstances (that confounded typewriter). What then becomes evident is that the location of the political and moral implications, the ground of battle for hope, despair, and dread, is, as the book stands, in the soul of the observer.

I take it, to put the matter bluntly, that Cooke began his superb reporting of the trials for the Manchester *Guardian* secure in his assumption of Hiss's innocence, and that by the end he was badly shaken. He nowhere says this explicitly, but I fear that the devices he has used to keep himself from having to say it are, in the long run, obfuscating. He begins with a chapter on the 1930's, recreating the mental climate of the time, out of which he builds, very subtly, the conclusion that if ever there was a time when "idealistic Americans of the left" could feel no sense of treason by giving information to Russia, it was exactly when Hiss was supposed to have done it. Cooke pleads incessantly that the tragedy—or the "tragedy *manqué*"—in the whole business was that deeds done in 1938 were being tried in the context of 1949. And he introduces his last chapter with a quotation from William Empson, to the effect that since people may have been prepared to do either of two things, they must always be judged by bearing in mind both the possibilities.

Now Empson is a connoisseur of ambiguities, but ambiguity is not really the effect that Cooke's narrative, apart from Cooke's brooding, makes upon his reader. Hiss either did or didn't, and the jury said he did. The ambiguity that lingers afterward, the bitter doubt, is in the mind and heart of Alistair Cooke, and by implication therefore in the mind and heart of all of us.

There will be many forthright persons who will see in all this only so much shuffling. Such persons can take Cooke's first and last chapters only as a highly sophistical plea that although Hiss is guilty he should not be judged by mere evidence, that he should somehow be excused because it was so natural to do in 1938 what he wouldn't dream of doing in 1949. Cooke appears to insinuate that after all, in the circumstances, the crime was not so great, or at least it was understandable. Compassion would thus be more in order than judicial sentences. The forthright will be strongly tempted to push this aside as just a bit too fancy, and to repeat the old demand, "Who did type the documents?" While I have, as I say, the utmost admiration for Cooke's reporting ability, and while I sympathize completely with his final reflection that in a deeper region of the mind the real wound festers, I am at the same time made unhappy that he has elected—or been obliged—to surround his narrative with so much moralizing that does seem, in the total effect, specious.

Before Hiss received his sentence, he said to Judge Goddard that in the future the full facts of how Chambers was able to carry out forgery by typewriter would be disclosed. It seemed to me of the utmost importance before my European questioners—and after studying Cooke's volume I think it now even more important—to insist that these were two trials in which those facts were simply not disclosed.

PERRY MILLER

Sight and Insight

ISRAEL REVISITED. By Ralph McGill. Tupper and Love. $2.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE. By J. C. Hurewitz. W. W. Norton and Company. $6.

WATCH FOR THE MORNING. By Thomas Sugrue. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

AFTER the raft of books on Israel that have appeared in recent months a new volume on the subject inevitably prompts the question: Was this necessary? The authors have obviously answered in the affirmative, but readers, reviewers, and editors with limited space are likely to feel that the law of diminishing returns has begun to operate. Merely a recapitulation of information already available or further first-hand reportage will not give freshness to thoroughly belabored material. Either new directions have to be explored or the old matter must be lifted to a different dimension.

By this criterion "Israel Revisited," despite its distinguished authorship and an enthusiastic foreword by Billy Rose, merits only passing consideration. The volume consists primarily of a series of

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newspaper articles—many published in 1946—which add little to our knowledge of the subject, though well-wishers of Israel will be pleased by Ralph McGill's reaffirmation of sympathy.

"The Struggle for Palestine" is a scholarly if uninspired review of the Palestine problem under the Mandate from 1936 to 1948. Essentially a source book rather than a critical appraisal of the contending forces, it should prove of value to the student. At the same time Dr. Hurewitz's zeal for a dispassionate presentation occasionally obscures rather than clarifies the picture. Unless the reader already has some basis for judgment, he is likely to be confused by the author's studied refusal to evaluate contradictory claims and evidence. In the final analysis the so-called academic approach may result in subtle and for that reason all the more effective partisanship. In "The Struggle for Palestine" the use of this method appears to weight the argument in favor of the Arabs.

"Watch for the Morning" falls into a different category. Sugrue's account of the birth of Israel adds little information. Every aspect he touches upon has already been discussed, often in more detailed and authentic form. But Sugrue has succeeded in transporting the familiar into a fresh dimension.

Up to date we have had the accounts of Zionists, anti-Zionists like Koestler, sympathetic or hostile non-Jewish observers, and "objective" reporters. In "Watch for the Morning" we get still another point of view—the book is the story of what happened in Palestine as seen through the eyes of a devout Christian. It is the book of a religious man, and perhaps because of this it has a resonance and intuition lacking in most of its predecessors.

The author's own capacity for belief makes him equally sensitive to the faith of the "atheistic" pioneers and the more conventional piety of the orthodox. The source of Sugrue's sympathy is implicit: on the surface his competent story of the early struggles of the collectives and of the later battle for independence sounds reassuringly secular. But the Biblical quotations which head the chapters are a betrayal; in them the Promise is explicit. In rhythm and overtone they haunt the simple, unpretentious text. Sugrue has achieved a kind of tour de force. Almost without any overt statement he conveys to the reader the sense that he is describing the Holy Land where events are charged with more than ordinary values. If stated baldly, this could be as tiresome as an evangelical tract or a Zionist peroration, but Sugrue manages to endow lively and concrete reporting with a quality of spiritual vibrance.

Since the author is a Catholic, his comments on the Israeli treatment of Holy Places is particularly significant. Concerning Catholic charges of alleged Jewish vandalism in Nazareth he writes: "Why they [American Catholics] should take it upon themselves to deny that the Jews had acted decently in Nazareth I could not imagine, unless it was a political line they believed themselves obliged to follow, as during the Spanish civil war many of them believed they were obliged to support Franco." In connection with Franciscan plans for a new church for which $4,000,000 was available, Sugrue raises the pertinent question as to why some part of these millions was not used by the Franciscans

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to alleviate the economic situation of the Christian Arabs of Nazareth.

The book ends on a characteristic note. When Sugrue leaves Israel, a Jewish friend bids him in parting: "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem."

"'I will,' I said. I do."

MARIE SYRKIN

Henry Green's Technique

BACK. By Henry Green. The Viking Press. $3.

PUBLISHED in England in 1946, "Back" is not as good as "Loving" of the previous year or "Concluding" of 1948, which has yet to be published in the United States. But even by itself it is enough to warrant the finding that Mr. Green is in many respects the most original novelist in English to appear in the last twenty-five years. He is original not at all in the sense that his novels are miracles of newness. He writes directly in the two-hundred-year-old tradition of the novel of manners, yet uses it with a freedom which enables him to express all that is happening to the tradition in his own time. His technique is original, or modern, in the same sense, and here the parallel with painting, with Picasso and Matisse, immediately presents itself. He has the same respect for his medium they have for theirs, an unquestioned confidence that he can express in its terms whatever he *feels* he has to say; the same directness, economy, and lack of interest in concealing the means by which he achieves his effects or in filling in areas not relevant to his specific intention; and as a result of great simplification and selectivity, the same final effect of spontaneity and inclusiveness. It is less important that he has a painter's eye for color, composition, and movement in space.

Still, the reader's deeper concern is with life, not with method and technique, with reality—*hypocrite auteur*! And the beauty of Mr. Green's novels is their final reality, the warmth and freedom and naturalness, and the anguish, with which his characters move through the dense complexities of their lives. The complexities are all there; he neither oversimplifies them like the novelist of sensibility nor erects them into a sociological noose like the naturalist: they are the time in which the space his characters move in exists. So any subject serves, and anyone is everyone.

Like Charley Summers who has come back from the war, back from five years in a prison camp, with a wooden leg, back into a world without Rose. Rose, who has died, is the focus and symbol of his neurotic state. In order to live he must both remember and forget Rose, although remembering is death, and forgetfulness betrayal and deprivation. In his deepest confusion he is certain Rose is alive. His unimaginative mind conceives incontrovertible proofs of her existence. The novel is the quest for Rose, whom he must find and whom he does find and whose name is Nancy. Or who finds him, or does each find the other? From the opening lyrical scene in the rose cemetery to the scene toward the end in the blitzed rose garden and the final scene when Nancy, whom he now loves for herself, again becomes Rose, the symbol is always the thing itself. Just as Charley's thoughts become things populating his world. But Charley's life depends on things becoming reality, not mere extensions of his thoughts. And they do. In the real world of his office, his landlady, the Grants, and Nancy, Charley finds that obsessions like his are part of the accepted experience of other people, from whom he felt his own obsession excluded him.

Such a thematic statement is of course nowhere provided. Everything happens to Charley so naturally his agonizing plight is also amusing, as Mr. Grant's illness—he is dying of paralysis—is affecting and amusing, being illness-in-the-family and the illness of Mr. Grant at the same time. The story-telling tone and the wit objectify and unify both levels. Above all, we *see* Charley, inarticulate, stupid, unable to feel anything except as it is distorted by the self-pity of his obsession, and I have never read so eloquent an embracing of sexual hebetude. "Back" is no more a "war novel" than it is a study in schizophrenia. "For the last time," wrote Kafka, "psychology!"

There are faults, the occasional ones the slipping from art into artifice, and the main one a weak middle section lined with a letter that recalls the interpolated stories in eighteenth-century fiction and is itself a funny parody of eighteenth-century memoirs. The letter, which is called to Charley's attention because the double-identity theme it describes parallels his thinking that Nancy is Rose, is too important as a parody to serve its function of showing his unconscious progression toward reality. And for all the achieved beauty of Charley, Mr. Green is outwitted by Charley's inarticulateness and unawareness, being forced to depend so much on irony that at times Charley is in danger of becoming a special case. The other characters, especially Nancy, escape that danger. "Back" lacks the seriousness and universality of "Loving" and "Concluding." Nevertheless, it succeeds brilliantly in its own terms.

Charley is typical of the characters in Mr. Green's novels. He moves through his solipsistic world discovering himself only when he meets the reality of other people's solipsistic worlds. The recognition of mutual exclusion is the beginning of love, and salvation in this world is through love. Not romantic love—only nature and children are romantic—not ideal love, but the need of isolated selves blessed with the sexual instinct and, for all they do to them,

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good hearts. Love, that is, symbolized by the mundane rose, not the Rose of Charley's obsession—really a stinkweed that rose in the nursery of his mind—but the real rose, Nancy. So Nancy and Charley are saved, Nancy like other of Mr. Green's loving women having been "brought up with the problem." "Well," she says to Charley, "you don't suppose you're the first, do you? Still, I expect we're most of us alike, it's natural after all to consider you're the only one on earth." So Raunce in "Loving" meets Edith, or, in reverse, Mr. Rock in "Concluding" looks on at the love surrounding his old age and is shut out from it. The happy ending is the story-book ending inflected with the irony of the observer. Yet what is lost—and always something is lost: the ring in "Loving," the girl in "Concluding," Rose in "Back"—is found.

H. P. LAZARUS

The Western View

IDEAS AND MEN. The Story of Western Thought. By Crane Brinton. Prentice-Hall, $6.

IT IS a hazardous enterprise to write a history of Western thought, particularly a popular one. The currents of thought and life to be correlated are so various and sometimes so contradictory that every pattern which the historian may choose for their comprehension is subject to challenge, and almost every detail can be variously interpreted. The natural inclination of a critical reader is to ask by what right and for what purpose another historian has attempted this task.

The "right" of Professor Brinton to engage in this monumental undertaking is derived from gifts of imagination, lucidity of utterance, and a sense of humor which, added to his great historical learning, enable him to survey the whole of our Western history in a manner that will bring enjoyment as well as understanding to all thoughtful readers. Anyone who knows a particular section of the wide expanse of thought and life surveyed can pick flaws at this or that point, but this is a fairly fruitless enterprise. It would be better therefore to deal with Professor Brinton's purpose, for, as he says, "all historians do in fact arrange their materials in such a way as to lead their readers to believe that some propositions . . . about men and their destiny are true."

Professor Brinton seems to me to state one purpose at the beginning of his history and a slightly different one at the conclusion. In the beginning he declares that "throughout this book there runs a very great problem indeed—is there any science of norms?" He promises not to dodge this question, and he does not. He confesses that "in his own thinking he has gone rather far toward the position that value judgments cannot for Western man be given a solid ranking order save by the intervention of a human activity commonly called faith." He asserts that "reason is by no means helpless in problems of value." But it is incapable of resolving the problem of historical relativism, which is the "impossible task of eliminating . . . each man's conviction that beyond some irreducible point he is not like other men, that he has a will and personality of his own." Professor Brinton's nice balance between skepticism and confidence in reason may not suit either the pure relativists or the proponents of scientific value judgments. Many of us will find his judgments convincing and sane. One might question, however, whether relativity in value judgments arises from "each man's conviction that at some irreducible point he is not like other men." Does it not arise rather from the fact that men make judgments about human nature and human destiny in general without being conscious of the unique and historically contingent elements which enter their consideration? It is not their claim to uniqueness as much as their pretensions of universality which creates the problem.

At the conclusion of the survey Professor Brinton seems to me to be concerned with another problem, only obliquely related to the first one. It is the problem of the relation of the "real to the ideal," or in other words the constant contradiction in history between ideal possibilities and attainable realities. He is convinced that the Enlightenment's confidence in human reasonableness and perfectibility is a poor guide for a generation that must deal with problems of atomic and total wars. On the other hand, he finds that philosophies of disillusionment, with their "hard-boiled acceptance of things as they are," are "inverted idealism." He proposes rather a "sane resolution of the tension between the real and the ideal." This involves "setting small modest goals all along the line, not temperance but less alcoholism, not perfect sexual life but fewer divorces, . . . not a world government but a United Nations. . . ."

Many of us believe in this kind of meliorism as a political program, but the question is whether it adequately resolves the total problem which Professor Brinton defines as a conflict between Christian pessimism and the undue optimism of the culture of the Enlightenment, with its utopian visions and its despair and disillusionment when the dreams of utopia turn into the nightmares of fascism and communism. He is convinced that Christian pessimism is a possible view of life only if it has the vent of "other worldliness"; and this is not available to modern man even if he has also lost confidence in the utopias which have been the substitutes for heaven in what Mr. Brinton calls the "surrogates" for the Christian faith. Mr. Brinton is rightly concerned lest a democratic civilization, which rests ideologically upon confidence in the realization of all human ideals in the historical

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scene, have difficulty in preserving its health when that confidence is destroyed by the tragic realities of our age. Certainly the problem he poses is greater than most enthusiasts for a democratic civilization admit. Perhaps the solution lies in neither an impossible heaven nor an impossible utopia, nor yet in mere political meliorism, however justified this last as a political strategy. Perhaps the solution must be found in a fresh analysis of what is historical and what is trans-historical in all human capacities, ambitions, and realizations, so that men may sense something final and consummatory even in those experiences which are ambiguous and tragic on the plane of historical fulfilment.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Books in Brief

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY. By Edward Dumbauld. University of Oklahoma Press. $3. So much has been written about the great Declaration that it might not seem possible at this date to say anything fresh and useful about it. Mr. Dumbauld has proved that it is possible. Even Carl Becker was not more successful in blowing the dust off the old parchment and putting ink and blood back into the fading words. Mr. Dumbauld's book takes the form, not of a philosophic essay, but of a phrase-by-phrase commentary, with appendices and other supplementary information. It does admirably all the things that could be asked of it. To specify the most notable: it brings out the fundamental indebtedness of the Declaration to John Locke; it provides the historical background of that neglected and often disparaged part of the document, the list of charges against the King; it indicates clearly what the Declaration accomplished at the time of its promulgation and what it has continued to do by infusing some, at least, of its spirit into American constitutions and laws. It is good reading for anybody and should be compulsory reading for people who still parrot Rufus Choate's sneer about "glittering generalities." This is an appropriate time to say, also, that the University of Oklahoma Press knows, better than most publishers, how to design, print, and bind a book.

INCREDIBLE TALE. By Gerald W. Johnson. Harper. $3.50. In this volume Mr. Johnson seeks to recount "the Odyssey of the Average American in the last half-century." He suggests that the main influences on the mind of this "average American" have been Wilson, Lenin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Stalin; and that each of these in some way contributed to the "political maturity" of this hypothetical being. Throughout there runs a thread of optimism, of belief that somehow all is for the best and that in some inexplicable fashion the "average American" in each generation distils political wisdom from the follies of his contemporaries. There are a number of acute perceptions as to the role in popular thought of such figures as William Jennings Bryan and Eleanor Roosevelt. Mr. Johnson writes with fluency, though he is given to devious literary devices and allusions, often laboriously explained, and the volume is spotted with purple and sentimental passages. But this book leaves one with the feeling—which Mr. Johnson's evident good-will and democratic faith only accentuate—that the belief in the average American's being better equipped than his grandfather was to deal with the complexities of world politics must be founded on faith rather than on solid evidence.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE CURIOUS SAVAGE" (Martin Beck Theater) is a laborious and tasteless "comedy" built on the idea, if it can be called an idea, that the people inside mental institutions have more sanity and goodness than those outside—for which the only evidence is that people outside actually indulge in such ideas. It is furnished with overstuffed sociological pronouncements about the rich and finished off with heavy curlicues of fantasy. The play is laid—that verb just came, and let it stand—in a "cheerful" insane asylum.

Lillian Gish, that unlikely blend of will-o'-the-wisp and good trouper, plays the part of the rich old lady who has been put away by her stepchildren because she wants to spend her millions financing people's daydreams. She moves through the rather dubious proceedings with considerable grace and emerges unscathed, though one does wonder how she could have let herself become involved.

There is just a touch of infantile leftism in "Mrs. Warren's Profession" (Bleecker Street Playhouse), but with what a difference. The play, one sees, is rather awkwardly put together; it is apparent too that Mr. Shaw, fifty-four years ago, didn't quite know how to wind up his attack on the capitalist system—with the ironic result that the only "good" character, Mrs. Warren's daughter Vivie, is condemned to live grimly ever after. But there are some fine scenes, there is wonderful talk born of intelligence, wit, and conviction, and there is skilful characterization—in case you had forgotten.

Estelle Winwood as Mrs. Warren looks exactly right, with her fancy, corrupt costumes and her exaggerated make-up; and she acts out with skill and feeling the part of the international madam—both her world-worn lust for life, however low, and her maternal love and pride. Louisa Horton, as the daughter, is very well cast and, particularly in the first half of the play, handles the part well. In the second half she is less convincing but so is the role. The other members of the cast are far less accomplished.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

PROKOFIEV'S early "Visions fugitives" (1915-17) and his more recent Piano Sonata No. 6 (1939-41) are played by Leonard Pennario on a Capitol LP record (P-8113). The twenty "Visions" resemble Chopin's Preludes in being small-scale presentations of Prokofiev's toccata-like-figuration style, his grotesque scherzo style, and his expressive lyrical style—some of them too brief in fact to achieve the effect of something being really stated, and others not interesting in what they do say. But many convey a youthful spontaneity of creative impulse; and the best—the later ones—are exciting in their activity or moving in their expressiveness. The Sonata gives us the styles elaborated at great length but—to my ears—with little interest. The performances have all the technical brilliance the music calls for; but they reveal an *affetuoso* element in Pennario's style which is right for Rachmaninov but not for Prokofiev. The recorded sound of the Sonata is dull; that of the "Visions" is brighter; surfaces are gritty.

Chopin's four Ballades, of which the G minor and F minor are among his finest works, are on a Columbia LP, excellently performed by Casadesus. Some of the passage-work and ornamentation is not reproduced clearly; surfaces crackle.

Several of Debussy's more popular pieces—"Clair de lune," the Prelude from "Pour le piano," "La Cathédrale engloutie," and "Minstrels"—are played well by George Copeland on an MGM LP record (E-526), which has also Copeland's transcriptions of "L'après-midi d'un faune" and "Danse sacrée." Surfaces are noisy.

Debussy's "En blanc et noir" for two pianos, deftly played by José and Amparito Iturbi on an RCA Victor LP, I find uninteresting. Also, Brailovsky's performances of Chopin's Waltzes on another Victor LP, and Backhaus's of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 and Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 26, Opus 53 ("Waldstein"), and Opus 109 on London records I consider very poor.

Haydn's charming Quartet Opus 64 No. 5 ("Lark") is beautifully performed by the Hungarian Quartet on Victor records. And Schubert's Quintet Opus 114 ("Trout") for piano, violin, viola, cello, and bass, parts of which are very fine, is on a Columbia LP, played by Horszowski with Roisman, Kroyt, and Schneider of the Budapest Quartet and Georges Moleux. It seems to be an excellent performance; but the recording gives it to us with the bass much too heavy a lot of the time—rumbling hugely in climaxes, and its plucked notes like kettledrum beats. Also, with my more recent and supposedly best GE cartridge the violin is veiled and sharp; but with an older cartridge it is clear and quite agreeable.

Mercury has issued LP versions of its recordings of Brahms's Piano Quartets Opus 25 and Opus 60 played by Horszowski, Alexander Schneider, violin, Milton Katims, viola, and Frank Miller, cello (MG-10010 and 10011). Listening again to these finely integrated performances I was aware this time of the outstanding quality of Miller's playing—the exciting life and continuity it creates in a mere succession of plucked bass notes, its elegance of style in sustained melodic phrases (e. g., in the opening of the slow movement of Opus 60). The piano is too heavy, the strings too weak, the violin unnaturally altered in the sound of Opus 25; balance is better in Opus 60; surfaces are noisy in both.

Beethoven's Variations on a theme from Handel's "Judas Maccabeus" and his finer sets on two arias from Mozart's "The Magic Flute" are well played by Gabor Rejto, cello, and Adolph Baller, piano, on an Allegro record (AL-75) which offers also a performance of the Sonata Opus 102 No. 2 that is good but inadequate in comparison with the Casals-Horszowski and Schnabel-Fournier performances. The recording gives us some parts of the pieces a half-tone lower than other parts.

The flute and oboe sonatas of Jean Baptiste Loeillet on another Allegro record and the Schumann Sonata Opus 105 and Dvorak Romantic Pieces for violin and piano on a Capitol record are uninteresting.

Coming Soon in The Nation

"The Lonely Crowd"

By David Riesman

Reviewed by Irving Howe

Letters to the Editors

Liberals Should Act

Dear Sirs: I write this letter to suggest that social commentary—such as we find in *The Nation*—although a necessary prerequisite to social action, cannot replace such action. The international situation is declining in hopefulness despite the fact that liberals have been keeping themselves informed about the depressing events that compose the situation. We shift uncomfortably on our powder keg, but lack somehow the inclination to move to stamp out the sputtering fuse.

Perhaps we are cowed by the hysteria of our countrymen, or perhaps we understand events but do not understand how to deal with them. In any event, one answer that presents itself is leadership. The responsibility for initiating action devolves upon those who possess authority and the means for manifesting that authority, that is, channels of communication.

Liberals have quite enough agreement in regard to world issues to form a basis for resolute political action. The misguided gentlemen who lead us so persuasively toward the cliff's edge are acting concertedly enough; the time is long overdue for a strong minority to indicate its firm belief in a saner path.

Liberals are crying for a way in which their individual voices may come to mean something; the opportunity must be provided by those with the means. I refer, of course, to journals such as *The Nation*. Supplement your editorial commentary with an occasional set of concrete proposals for political action and provide the means, in petition form perhaps, for readers to signify their agreement; then pass these indications of public support to the pertinent political representatives.

I suggest that the following propositions are held to be valid by most American liberals; concrete proposals for political action may be easily educed from them.

1. War between the great powers will solve no problems.

2. Efforts to reconcile the points of tension between the United States and the U. S. S. R. must not only continue but increase in scope.

3. Concrete acts, not a flood of words, are the best evidence of peaceful and democratic intentions.

4. The vicious circle of "defensive"

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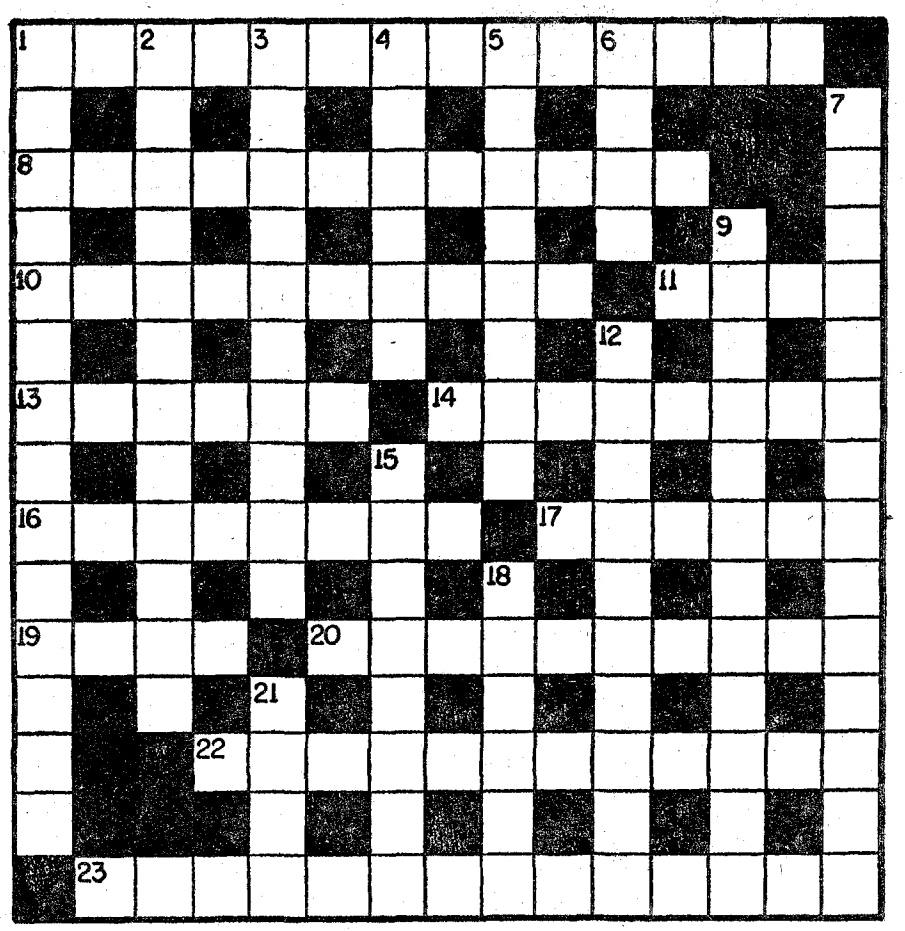
Crossword Puzzle No. 386

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Book learning (preparing for the bench, no doubt)? (6, 8)
8 Signaling the different birds?
10 Come in force, with boldness.
11 You have to be good to get under one!
13 Money, common in Pennsylvania.
14 Ordered.
16 Making manifest.
17 Such a recess need not be natural.
19 Cannot lean towards pretense.
20 Meridian, perhaps.
22 Rather obvious interjection concerning the location of Paradise. (7, 5)
23 Footnote which is played down?

DOWN

1 What Jocko might get in a jar from a spring. (6, 8)
2 Gone into, as it seems, arrangements of terms.
3 Land about as far away from 9 as possible.
4 High-toned gentlemen.
5 Gas mains in the building.
6 Require, or just want?
7 Probably up and down, if you're walking in low shoes towards the High Church! (6, 8)
9 Was Paderewski so attractive? (8, 4)
12 Decoration of equal rank.
15 What Lake Success has in a ticklish situation?
18 Nine, as a color.
21 Bad feet? Take a holiday!

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 385

ACROSS:—1 MAN OF THE WORLD; 10 OCTET; 11 MAIN FORCE; 12 and 8 TELEPHONE BOOTH; 13 RISER; 14 OKLAHOMA CITY; 19 BLARNEY STONE; 22 and 8 EDWIN BOOTH; 24 SUFFUSING; 25 TROUSSEAU; 26 CLOVE; 27 APPLE-PIE-ORDER.

DOWN:—2 ATTILA; 3 OUTSPOKEN; 4 TEMPORARY; 5 ELITE; 6 OFFER; 7 LORDSHIP; 9 BETRAYS; 15 OUT OF TUNE; 16 ANNOUNCER; 17 OBJECTS; 18 WAR WHOOP; 20 RIMOSE; 21 AGREE; 23 NASAL; 24 SWEEP.

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arming is poor defense indeed, for it only serves to aggravate tensions and must lead to war.

R. HANVEY, JR.

Chicago, Ill., October 11

Danger in France

Dear Sirs: This letter is designed as a footnote to J. Alvarez del Vayo's article, The Economic War, which appeared in the September 2 issue of *The Nation*. The fundamental question of Western Europe's standard of living must be fully comprehended as one of the vital issues in the world situation today. For this reason, an analysis of the newly established French minimum wage which Mr. del Vayo referred to may serve a useful purpose in making vivid to the American reader the struggle of the French worker to maintain himself and his family.

The first point to consider is the base period of the prices used to establish the minimum living wage of 16,400 francs a month. As finally adopted, the cost-of-living figures were based on the week of May 25 to June 1, when a strong seasonal decline in food prices was operative. A later week, when food was 10 per cent higher, had been urged by the trade unionists as a more representative period and had been rejected in the joint labor-management committee by the close vote of fifteen to fourteen. Secondly, it must be stressed that the guaranteed minimum was tied to an hourly not a monthly wage, again over the protests of the unions. Thus the actual minimum wage for Paris becomes 78 francs, or 22 1/5 cents, an hour. For a 50-hour week, 200 hours of work, this rate yields a figure of 15,600 francs a month.

The difference between this "earned" minimum and the guaranteed minimum of 16,400 francs (for workers in the most favored region; elsewhere it is lower) is made up by various allowances and bonuses—allowances, for example, for transportation and fuel in winter and bonuses for seniority and for increased production—but the workers have been receiving these benefits all along. The general inclusion of allowances and bonuses in the computation of the minimum wage thus tends deceptively to elevate the legal wage floor. A final defect of the new wage decree is its restricted application: all public employees, workers in nationalized enterprises, agricultural workers, and seamen are unprovided for.

The consequences are likely to be

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serious. An epidemic of "stocking up," like that in the United States on the outbreak of the Korean War, has pushed prices still higher, with the result that the purchasing power of the minimum wage is already falling below that of the "living wage" it is supposed to be. Equally serious is the effect the fixing of such a low minimum may have on collective bargaining as provided for by the law of February 11, 1950, since such official sanction for a near-starvation wage immensely strengthens management's resistance to wage increases. In addition, since the guaranteed minimum is an hourly one, labor is left legally defenseless if the work week should be cut. On the other hand, the French worker may be forced, in order to earn a living, to accede to a substantial lengthening of hours. Both developments are acutely feared by French labor today.

The French government has moved dangerously close to fostering the very conditions which could bring about the economic disillusionment and collapse that the enemies of free labor inside France are counting on.

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

New York, October 15

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People Do Count

Dear Sirs: In his review of Jonathan Daniels's "The Man of Independence" [*The Nation*, October 14], Richard Hofstadter says "it is hard to imagine a single major feature of our situation that would be drastically different if F. D. R. had lived." Can Mr. Hofstadter really believe that people don't count—that the tides of history are as predetermined as the tides of the ocean?

A substantial segment of liberal opinion bases its criticism of the Truman Administration on the fact that the men who have determined foreign policy since F. D. R. have been too stupid to keep us out of the mess in which we find ourselves. Surely Hofstadter can't believe that F. D. R. was as inept in his dealings with other nations as Truman and his colleagues have been.

The plain truth is that the people who have determined foreign policy are the kind who have always been hostile to Russia and to what Marshall has deplored as "experimentalism" all over the globe. (Think of Churchill's vulgar "We stuck the wrong pig.") To expect such people to work sincerely at the problem of conciliation and compromise is to expect the impossible—their whole emotional conditioning is against it.

Contrast the behavior of these people with the views of a man who was perhaps closer to F. D. R. than any other—Harry Hopkins. He had lots to do with the Russians, and shortly before his death he wrote that he found them "easy to deal with." "The thing that the American people must look out for," he said, "is that there is a minority in America who, for a variety of reasons, would just as soon have seen Russia defeated . . . and [who will] take advantage of every rift between ourselves and Russia to make trouble between our two countries." "No government worth its salt in control of our country," he continued, "would ever permit that group to influence our official actions. . . . Our Russian policy must not be dictated by people who have already made up their minds that there is no possibility of working with Russians and that our interests are bound to conflict and ultimately lead to war. From my point of view, that is an untenable position and can but lead to disaster."

How can Mr. Hofstadter say that if F. D. R. had lived "not a single feature of our situation would be drastically different"?

EARL T. ANDERSON

San Jose, Cal., October 20

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